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# LUKE GRIDLEY'S DIARY

of 1757

While in Service in the French and  
... Indian War . . .

EDITED FOR THE ACORN CLUB.



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# **LUKE GRIDLEY'S DIARY.**



Gridley, Luke.

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... Indian War ...

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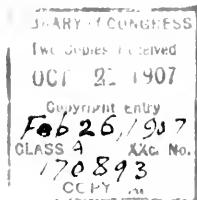
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## PREFACE.

THE year 1757 was the nadir of the English cause during the Seven Years' War in America. Not only had it thus far distinctly the worse,—having lost the control of the West at Fort Duquesne in 1755, and that of Lake Ontario at Oswego in 1756, and gained only a desert frontier on the east by depopulating one of its own provinces,—but the disasters had seemingly taught the government nothing. They had not even loosed the hold of political “pulls” and jobbery which was the curse of all the administrative services. For two years a set of very unfit commanders, appointed by court or family influence, with the King's son Cumberland as military dictator, played ducks and drakes with the English chances of gaining the chief heritage of the Western Hemisphere; and they would have lost it altogether but for the provincials whom they despised, belittled, and defamed—largely for their own repute and promotions, and to the fatal misleading of

English judgment as to an easy suppression of provincial revolt a few years later. Braddock, the first, appointee of Cumberland and head of the household brigade, was by far the ablest and most courageous; but the remnant of his slaughtered regulars was saved by Washington's Virginians. A provincial governor, the energetic and sensible if tactless and over-confident Shirley, then held the field for a while, and the solitary success of nearly three years was achieved by Lyman's New-Englanders; it won a baronetcy and £5000 not for the victor, however, but for the late Admiral Warren's nephew, William Johnson, who despite the value of his Indian diplomacy, had shown neither military conduct nor courage. His jealousy of Shirley's interference began a feud which was taken up by his kinsmen, the powerful De Lanceys; and Shirley was deposed through their influence with Cumberland, probably plus the interprovincial grudge between New York and New England which wrought so much evil in the Revolution. An English colonel, Daniel Webb, for no historically assignable reason, was then sent over as a place-warmer for two Scotchmen: James Abercrombie, another court favorite, who in turn was to be *locum tenens* for John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, though all three were to remain as generals. Loudoun had also the influential earldom of

Stair behind him, and had managed to lose nearly all his command at Preston in 1745. Scotch noblemen were pertinacious place-jobbers and patronage-hunters, but the just repute of Scotchmen as fighters seems moreover to have bred an idea that all were competent commanders. The curious feature in this case was that the chiefs did not even exhibit the personal warlikeness which distinguished so many of their underlings. Loudoun had the hot temper and rough manners of the conventional Scot, and was valorous toward civilian magistrates; but he displayed no undignified haste to engage in actual conflict, and was easily persuaded of its infeasibility. Abercrombie, after his repulse at Ticonderoga in 1758, was stricken with a more cowardly panic than Braddock's mangled troops, as having infinitely less cause; and with a superior army fled from before a fort which Montcalm said could have been taken with two cannon. They were no worse than Webb, however, who was in a qualm of apprehension during his whole stay at Fort Edward; never risked his skin, and never moved without a huge escort; and after Fort William Henry and its garrison had been captured through his own fears and incapacity, thought of flying to Albany and leaving the upper settlements to the torch and scalping-knife.

These appointments again illustrate the contempt of the home government for provincial affairs, as needing little ability to manage, which alone would justify the Revolution. Respectable subordinates, or likely to be such, not one of these persons would have been dreamed of for a commander-in-chief of the smallest independent army in Europe; but almost any officer of regimental rank was good enough to plan and direct campaigns in America, with a few thousand regulars and a "mob" of provincials. Yet they would probably all have done decently well in Europe, for which they were trained; where nearly all battles were fought on open ground, with well-drilled and disciplined troops for at least a backbone, all marches were over multiplex roads thoroughly mapped out and running through settled agricultural districts, supply departments were fairly provided and officered, and practically all contingencies could be forecast if the general had a brain and experience. But in America, where none of these things were true, they were helplessly unable to construct a new system of ideas, and except Braddock they seem to have been physically daunted. The mere fact that pretty much all battles were fought *in the woods*, as were most of the Revolutionary battles, shattered all their notions of tactics. If you could not keep your

troops together, how could there be any fighting except a barbarian scramble without guidance, and how could they form and maintain columns when crawling through underbrush or making way around giant pines? And the vast silent woods aswarm with skulking savages, or suddenly breaking into blood-curdling yells and screeches, evidently appalled their nerves, as they did those of the Americans themselves wherever familiarity had not bred coolness or even over-contempt. They blenched as even Arnold could not prevent his troops from blenching when Burgoyne was marching from Skenesborough to Fort Edward, and not a hand was lifted against him in those trackless forests; as the forces of Willett and Gansevoort in Fort Stanwix were well-nigh frightened into surrender in a well-stocked fort, by half their number of Indians and a handful of white men.

Against this shifting series of second-rate military pedants was matched a Frenchman of first-rate ability and adaptability, Montcalm, succeeding another of the same stripe, Dieskau; aided by subordinates to whom the forest life and the Indians were native or entirely familiar. The American sections they led were as ill-matched in the same direction. The English provinces disliked each other only less than the French, and dreaded each other more. Each

was afraid of doing too much, for fear of the rest taking the advantage to do too little; and those under royal governors were glad of every occasion of public danger and demand to tie their rulers' hands, not only for the present, but as a precedent for the future. None had or would permit any standing military force; each raised what it wanted for the year, disbanded it at the close, and could not get a new one into the field till toward summer of the next. Men, supplies, everything, were insufficient, slow, and disunited. Canada was at least a single province, with only one governor and one general to fight and paralyze each other — which truly was enough. That in spite of all this the French made but little real progress during their time of superiority, and sank into irretrievable ruin as soon as the English put stronger men in power, is the best evidence of the incurable weakness of their colonial system. It was in fact not a colonizing system at all, except in old Canada. Outside of that it lacked the one thing needful — people; and, as even there save for a slender body, was merely a set of forts with practically no settlers behind them. The command of a district hundreds of miles in extent rested on some one fort, or a few stockades; and as soon as they were reduced, the whole fabric went with them and went forever. The English control

was in solid ranks of farms and villages, which could not have been expropriated wholesale even if conquered, and which could lose a hundred frontier skirmishes and regain everything by a single victory.

The operations of 1757, in which our diarist was a humble unit, need not be set forth in detail. Broadly, all forward movements and all plans for such had been suspended by the displacement of Shirley, and nothing could go on until Loudoun had decided what he wished to undertake. His plan was the old one of cutting off all French reinforcements by capturing Louisbourg and commanding the mouth of the St. Lawrence, as a preliminary to striking down what was left; but he showed his bad judgment by so stripping the centre for this purpose as to expose that to imminent destruction before the starving system could work. This venturesomeness in plan could only have been redeemed by equal venturesomeness and energy in execution; but he showed neither. His supplies were dilatory, but so were everybody's always; and he did not reflect, like Pepperrell and his men and a thousand other minor leaders of his time, that the enemy's were sure to be so likewise. He would do nothing until he had a force to assure victory; before he received it, the French had become the stronger

at Louisbourg; and when his admiral would still attack, he would bear no part in it.

Meantime Montcalm had gathered some six thousand regulars and Canadians and a couple of thousand Indians at Ticonderoga, to invest Fort William Henry and Monro's twelve hundred at the head of Lake George, the less important of the two keys of communication from Canada to Albany. Webb the while was cowering at the ultimate key-post, Fort Edward, fifteen miles off: binding Putnam with an oath not to reveal the presence of the enemy when first discovered; waiting for provincial reinforcements which could not possibly arrive in time; sending enough to Monro to be a heavy loss, but not enough to make successful resistance even probable; not daring to join him with full force lest the French should turn his rear and assail Albany, and not reflecting that if the upper fort was untenable, it was obvious common-sense to withdraw the garrison to Fort Edward, and leave the French an empty fort instead of lining it with good troops; refusing to let his provincials and incoming militia march to Monro's relief when they begged it, countermanding the permission to a small body when given; acting, in a word, like a thoroughly frightened man in presence of new conditions he could not handle—which was the truth.

Monro surrendered on promise of security; but Montcalm's Indians had engaged with him on promise of plunder and would not have their prey escape, the fear of losing some part of their services as scouts was more insistent than humanity with some officers, and the prisoners themselves paid ransom in brandy which maddened the savage blood still more. The Indians butchered the sick and wounded at once, the Canadian officers very willing because it relieved them of a burden on their march; dug up and scalped the corpses from the small-pox hospital, and were later decimated by the consequent epidemic; dragged bodies of prisoners out of the marching column and slaughtered them, keeping some for eating at Montreal; and before they were stopped by Montcalm and some others, had probably killed five hundred sick and well. The massacre, its numbers greatly exaggerated, is still one of the best remembered incidents in American history.

Webb's expresses and appeals had already called out great bodies of provincial militia, which came pouring in just before and just after the disaster. Connecticut alone had sent some 5000, or about one-seventh of its entire fighting population on this single call, besides the considerable body of its regulars already in the field, though its own borders were in no danger. As Montcalm's forces did not

advance, but withdrew to Canada a week later, these were soon recalled; but meantime they were enduring great hardships from lack of food, tents, blankets, and cooking utensils, and many refused to remain without object, the New-Yorkers threatening to shoot their officers if they interfered. At last all was settled; a small force was enrolled for winter guard and scouting; and both sides prepared for the next year's struggle, when Pitt had come into power and begun to send over very different officers.

Connecticut's part in this war was one which may well be a source of pride to every citizen. She levied first and last over 27,000 troops, of whom some 14,000 were separate individuals, and 9,000 were regularly in the pay of the colony for full fighting years' services in the field, outside the militia call — even that showing her willingness to respond to the common danger and send her sons to the field. Now her population in the year 1756 was found to be 130,611. The highest proportion of males between fifteen and fifty-five known in any European country has been 280 per 1000; the lowest a little under 240. Even the latter, taken from old settled peoples, is probably greater than that in a half-settled colony where families were very large and the number of small children very great; but in any event the number of such male

adults in Connecticut was not much above 36,000, and may have been below 31,000. Taking the supposition most unfavorable for our purpose, the colony furnished, for a war which did not directly endanger herself, and simply from common loyalty, nearly two-fifths of all her fighting citizens; on the more probable supposition, nearly one-half. Even apart from the militia sent to relieve Fort William Henry, it contributed certainly one-fourth, and probably nearer one-third, of its entire adult citizenship for steady service in breaking the French power.

In 1757 the General Assembly passed an act to raise 1,400 men, in one regiment of fourteen companies, to act in conjunction with Loudoun's regulars. At its head was placed Phineas Lyman of Suffield, the eminent soldier who had won the battle of Lake George eighteen months before, had won Johnson a title and wealth, and would have seized Ticonderoga for him if allowed; had noted with unerring eye the best spot above Albany to command the road from Canada, and fortified it. Johnson, with an equally unerring eye for his own interests, suppressed Lyman's name in his dispatches and removed it from the fort. It was then the custom, following the English fashion, for the colonel himself (English lieutenant-colonel, their colonels being titular figure-heads) to be captain of the first

or “colonel’s company,” and Lyman so acted. The other two regimental officers were respectively captains of the next two companies: Lieutenant-Colonel Nathan Whiting of New Haven, second company, and Major Nathan Payson of Hartford, third company. Of the others in order, the captains were Israel Putnam of Pomfret, Samuel Hubbell of Fairfield, David Waterbury of Stamford, Adonijah Fitch of New London, John Slapp of Mansfield, John Jeffries of Cornwall, Eliphalet Whittlesey of Newington, Edmund Welles of Hebron, Ben Adam Gallup of Groton, Ephraim Preston of Wallingford, and Andrew Ward of Guilford.

The present diarist, Luke Gridley, was a private in “Captain Major” Payson’s company. He was from Farmington, of a numerous stock which also included a missionary, and members of which were on the committee to raise subscriptions for Boston after its closure by the Port Bill. It was allied to the Boston family which produced General Richard Gridley, the great military engineer who laid out the works which reduced Louisbourg in 1745, and the defensive works at Bunker Hill and Lake George. He was in no battles; but had he been, perhaps we should have had no diary. At all events, he marched with his company to Fort Edward, and was in camp there through the season till the troops

were discharged. He gives us a set of notes upon the camp life and the outside events that came to his ears, which afford some new information, correct some old, and add to the vividness of our picture of the situation from the soldiers' point of view.

As examples, we note the ever-present whip as the tool of all work for instruction and emendation. From the horrible punishment of a thousand lashes for desertion to the enemy, or five hundred for deserting from the forces of one colony into those of another (a most significant entry as a side-light on provincial separatism), or five hundred and being drummed out of camp with a rope around the neck for unspecified iniquities, we have all the way from three hundred down for arrears of a season's dereliction, for sleeping on guard (an unforgivable offense which wins the dreadful punishment of running the gauntlet also), for drunkenness (where, curiously, a "Yorker" gets three hundred to a regular's one), for selling rum without a license or to the Indians, for insubordination, for playing cards (doubtless swindling at them, as the camp was anything but puritanical), for wearing a dirty shirt on guard (quite properly, remembering what cleanliness means in a camp), for counterfeiting and passing the money, and so on; and we rejoice, with a wistful desire that our ancestors' customs were not dead,

when a dirty practical joker receives fifty well-earned lashes. Riding the wooden horse with heavy weights on the feet is also not disused. We note the constant labor of the officers to prevent or check vices, or inattention to the discipline needed for safety, for life or health: driving the worst camp-trulls out of the lines, regulating or stopping the sale of liquor, stopping the waste of stores, preventing the jaunts beyond the lines which were always liable to make one less soldier and one more scalp, punishing the shirks by making them stand guard at night, enforcing cleanliness, sobriety, obedience, and marksman-ship, and respect for private property. We note that a few true-blooded New-Englanders hold Sabbath services even without a minister, in a camp where all sorts of "gaming, cursing, and swearing" are going on around them; and that the Connecticut men observe "election day" even in camp, "toping off with Bisket." We note the never-ending scourge of small-pox which made dreadful havoc with the soldiers throughout the war, had already driven some bodies into disbanding outright, and filled the hospital which the deaths from it were constantly emptying. Rather curiously, we find pneumonia ("the Long feaver") one of the worst foes in mid-summer. We note that the allowance of rum is missed only less sorely than that of food: in those

times it was thought impossible to keep a force in health and vigor except by regular if small rations of spirits. We observe that an Indian massacre of a scouting force is prevented by the vigilance of three or four, "the rest of the gard being asleep,"—a monotonously regular tale in colonial affairs. We are reminded that the English side too had Indians serving it, the Iroquois being kept on its side through Johnson's influence; but the "Mohocks" only bring in prisoners, not scalps, and seemingly behave with decency. We see also that the descendants of the Mohegans and even the Pequots are ready to take a share in the excitement of war; indeed, the roll of Fitch's company shows a quite extraordinary percentage of evident Mohegans with craggy or grotesque names. The negro is also well in evidence; an Afro-American could make a stirring picture of his race in the early wars. Other topics will suggest themselves, opened by the diary.

The language of an untutored colonial is always of interest from its hints of contemporary phonetics, or its survivals of old names or shades of meaning or usage. The present diary is not without these. "Resigned" for surrendered, "while" for until, "peppered" for seasoned in general, instance the last-named sort; "sass" for green vegetables has no mystery for New England readers; "skeel" for

cleaning off the *scale* or rust is an interesting dialectic survival which has missed the great general dictionaries wholly. In pronunciations, it is interesting to observe that our Connecticut hero's name was apparently pronounced *Limmon*, at least by some; "Moriall" for Montreal was certainly common; "Camplain" may be a mere slip, or indicate the same attempt at pronouncing from a written word which produced "Glockster" on some tongues; "sursposed" and "Gaplop's" (Gallop's) are examples of a phonetic law more remarkably exemplified in the astounding name of "Scockerromah," applied to Lake George, and but for the inserted "c" a quite careful catching of the French pronunciation of "Sacrement"; "a Lewed" and "a Lewance" for allowed and allowance, and Teuchit for (probably) Toushet, illustrate the then frequent survival of the pronunciation of *ow* as "oo," still usual in "wound," and once universal. "Willaim" and "Jeames" accurately preserve the accepted pronunciations of our fathers later even than this. "Poywoy" for powwow and "boyl" for ball illustrate, like other colonial writings, the curious use of "y" to indicate the sound of "w," as "droy" and "soy" for draw and saw. "Er" as "ar," in "reharsth" and so on, is a matter of course.

F. M.

## DIARY.

March 29<sup>th</sup> Ad 1757

Luke Gridly His Book

Aprel 8<sup>th</sup> this Day was muster'd and took our oaths

Mondy the 18<sup>th</sup> Day: this Day Reseved wages: Bounty furst month wages & Bilting: 3=18=9=0<sup>1</sup> genneral Limmons Com[ ]<sup>2</sup> marcht ye 18<sup>th</sup> April the 22 of Aprel we<sup>3</sup> marcht.

mondy 25<sup>th</sup> we marcht Lichthfeel

26th to segguts<sup>4</sup> In Kornwill 36 mi<sup>5</sup> the next day wich was y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> we marcht to Landdard Robins

---

The bounty this year was 42 shillings, the soldier to find clothes, powder-horn, and bullet-pouch; the wages for a private, £1 12s. per month of 28 days; the allowance for billeting, 4s. per week. This would make £4 10s. for the first month; but the clothes were probably furnished by the colony and deducted.

<sup>2</sup> Lyman's personal company, the first.

<sup>3</sup> Payson's company, the third. This first stage was from Farmington to Harwinton, through that part of Bristol afterward set off as Burlington.

<sup>4</sup> The Widow Sedgwick's.

<sup>5</sup> From Farmington, not Litchfield.—The road from Litchfield to Cornwall was through Goshen.

in Cannan to Dine 8 miles: from thence to Landard Reeds In Solsbeary 6 miles

28<sup>th</sup> we marcht 4 mils<sup>1</sup> & 6 thruh the nine Pardenners<sup>2</sup> and then 6 which was to Levenstones manners fourness<sup>3</sup> nb: we passed By whare 3: men died: small pox a fortinnight Before haveing the wind of y<sup>e</sup> house

29 Day we marcht 20 miles & came to Clouverreck<sup>4</sup>: all In helth.

30<sup>th</sup> Day I went 3 miles & came to Rever<sup>5</sup>: Seeing my frinds well I pa[st] 5 miles up the River for Shad

May 1<sup>th</sup> wch was the Lords Day this Day we had a meating without any minister

the 2<sup>th</sup> Day our officssers Devided us Into fore parts In order to vittel them more Regiller<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To the Connecticut line at the Oblong, on the west of Salisbury.

<sup>2</sup> The Little Nine Partners, granted by New York in 1706, was the manorial estate next south of Livingstone's Manor: it was through this that the troops passed. The Great Nine Partners, south of this, had been granted in 1697.

<sup>3</sup> Furnace (Ancram). The ore beds were part of the great Middle Berkshire deposit still heavily worked in Salisbury.

<sup>4</sup> Claverack, three miles southeast of Hudson, N. Y.

<sup>5</sup> The Hudson.

<sup>6</sup> "The Men Complain y<sup>e</sup> Most of Hunger yt Ever I Hered in my Life," says another diarist.

The 3<sup>th</sup> wiche was tuesday we had orders form genneral Limmon to be Caled to geather at 7 oclock half In the morning: & 7 at night and not to Be absent haveing our hats Cocked up ours guns Bright & our gloths cleen: and a gard to Be kept: this set sum of us to washing Quick:

The 4th Day we trained Reseveing stricker orders

The 5 D they trained But I was garding & fiching we Being straitened: for Provicon: & hungry: Johnnathan Beamman Eate 3 Raw fiche: guts & all for 4 quarts of wine<sup>1</sup>

The 6 D we trained haveing Rewls so strick: that them Did not fute the ofescers was Train By themseuelfs<sup>2</sup>

Sattarday the 7 Day we<sup>3</sup> was all a Lowed to train afore foks But John forgoson & Shewble Reed: Gennerrall Limon Reseved orders from Lord

<sup>1</sup> Such bestial wagers were not uncommon in this gross hard-living age. A generation or two later even than this, two men ate each a raw skunk on a bet as to which should keep his meat down the longest: a noted Windham tavern-keeper named Staniford was the winner.

<sup>2</sup> This war was the first occasion when the colonial troops became a direct part of the British armies, and came under their system of discipline; and in the last two years, officers like Lyman had become conversant with the official rules of drill and tried to enforce them, while the self-trained mass resented them.

<sup>3</sup> I. e., Payson's company.

Leudon to gard the stors and get things to Cook in:

The 9<sup>th</sup><sup>1</sup> Day was the Sabbath: we d a meating without a minister<sup>2</sup>: one man out of Eevery Combenny was sent up to Greean Bush<sup>3</sup> for pots and kittles: Cololol 1: Pheinaas Limon: C 2 Whitelsy: C3P: Gallap: C4P: Putmans: 5 Captain Magor Pasons: 6 CP Slaps: 7 CP fitch 8 CP Gafas 9 CP Wells<sup>4</sup>

Mondy the 9<sup>th</sup> D I was on Gard we went to visiting & Captain hugabone<sup>5</sup>: our Landdard traind & haveing 4 men to press he gatherd 154 Dollers for them to List.<sup>6</sup>

the 10<sup>th</sup> Day I went on to the River to fiching [canceled: I see a sturgen 6 foot Long] & thare was

<sup>1</sup> A slip for "8th."

<sup>2</sup> This was special to a few high-grade New-Englanders. A New York officer said that Sunday had been packed away with the stores in Albany, and would not come up till the work was done.

<sup>3</sup> This individual historic name is now obliterated in "Rensselaer," city, which rolls several different things into one, and the railroad and postal station of "East Albany," which represents nothing.

<sup>4</sup> The numbering of these is not the official one, as will be noted from our list.

<sup>5</sup> Hogeboom, of Johnson's New York forces.

<sup>6</sup> That is, the men subscribed to pay bounty and hire the recruits instead of impressing them.

one of Cap Gaplops negros whiped for threting of killing a man.

Wensday the 11<sup>th</sup> Day we marcht 10 miles & Came to Landard vanalls<sup>1</sup> to Dine from thens 6 which was to Canterhook<sup>2</sup>: we Logd By ye meating: house

The 12<sup>th</sup> Day was Electshon Day<sup>3</sup> we marcht 24 miles and Came to Greenbuch: we Loged Cap Dows Barn:

the 13<sup>th</sup> D toping up Electshon with Bisket we marcht 10 miles & Came to Landard Skilar<sup>4</sup>: Jest a Bove y<sup>e</sup> flats<sup>5</sup>

the 14<sup>th</sup> D we had our Amannachtion & then we marcht 20 miles & Came to Scatte Cook<sup>6</sup>

the 15<sup>th</sup> D Gennaral Limon haveing his Chosie to Stay thaire: or Come back he Broute us Back to the River side 2 or 3 miles that Bostton folgers might go thare:

---

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere Fanall and Fondall.

<sup>2</sup> Kinderhook.

<sup>3</sup> The formal celebration in Connecticut.

<sup>4</sup> Schuyler's.

<sup>5</sup> Troy; but the distances in this and the next march are not intelligible even by circuitous roads. They should be about six and twelve miles instead of ten and twenty.

<sup>6</sup> Schaghticoke, east of the Hudson, a few miles southeast of Stillwater.

the 16<sup>th</sup> D I went to hunting Dear a monday  
 Being on Gard some of y<sup>e</sup> time & one of Limons  
 men killed one & CP Whitelses another teuchit<sup>1</sup>  
 killed one Before our offiscers had orders from Limon  
 that no man went to hunting or passd over the  
 River: or spoyled any Boards<sup>2</sup> with out his Leave  
 Allso that we shoule Be Examind how maney Cart-  
 thirigs we had & have an a Count took of how  
 maney we had spent: & for the future Every man  
 that shot a gun Gun with out his Leave was to Be  
 Brough Before a cort marshal & Be dealt with as an  
 abuser of the Kings stors & find for Every Cart-  
 terrig 3 Pence starting haveing But ten and one flint  
 Delivered him

The 17<sup>th</sup> D we traind I Beaing on gard:  
 Ensine Ezekill Lewis was put under gard for  
 not obeaying orders:

the 18 D John ashley<sup>3</sup> was whiped for not  
 obaying orders one of Limons men

the 19 Day a thursday we had an a Larram 7 Ingins  
 Runing after a boye, hwo was hunting pigeons to  
 scalp him fuierd at him & shot thrugh his shirt  
 5 Boullet holes sume grasing his flesh Bing the west

<sup>1</sup> Evidently an Indian, and apparently the same as Tousey (Toushet?) or John Hatchet, found on the rolls.

<sup>2</sup> Or houses, barns, or fences.

<sup>3</sup> An incorrigible elderly "tough subject."

fide of the Rever 100 Rods from us sume Duch York Cap Penders<sup>1</sup> his Comepantions swonge thare hats a frited at Lenthe one went to his Releaf : thare was scouts sent out as Quick as Chould Be : & 2 men out of Each Compeney to Allbaney for more folgers : & Captain Putmans Rangers<sup>2</sup> : & 20 of us was sent over the River to gard<sup>3</sup> these Cowards teufet<sup>4</sup> was put under gard for not obaying orders & a whipping post set up : we was all Brought Round In a Bodey : his sentance was to Be whipet 20 Lachis upon his Begeing faver & promising Reformation his honnor<sup>5</sup> with good Advice : & strick Directions to us all Repreaved him

the 20<sup>th</sup> Day the folgers traind & the offiscers Played boyl<sup>6</sup> Cornal Limon gave us orders to march to the forts as soon a we Could Conveineantly his honners Compeney passd over the River In order thare for

the 21 Day we was to prepare and be In a Readyness to go over the River: to march: The Boston folgers Come hear

<sup>1</sup> Carpenters.

<sup>2</sup> These were a company raised by voluntary enlistment from among the Connecticut troops, for scouting purposes, and subordinate to Major Robert Rogers.

<sup>3</sup> Guard *against*, he means — sc. the Indians, the “cowards.”

<sup>4</sup> The same as “Teuchit” before mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> Lyman.

<sup>6</sup> Ball.

Sabath Day 22<sup>th</sup> aboute 9 o Clock In the morning 7 compeneys marcht from hear & travild to the S[t]ill wartres<sup>1</sup> fort 6 mils: thare we Refresht our selfs: & marcht 7 mils and Picht our tenths which Came By water

Day 23 which was monday we marcht 10 mils & Picht our tents at Suratoke<sup>2</sup>: thare we went Into the River & Chast<sup>3</sup> aboute 3000 Alewifes for our Super

Day 24<sup>th</sup> Tusday Leftenant wells Came heare & half our compeny traind and the Rest Chachts<sup>3</sup> and Salted: 3 Barrills of Alewifes I went to kill a Dear & Shot wid with my gun wet his honnor giveing no Leave to Skeel<sup>4</sup> It out

Day 25<sup>th</sup> thare was one Dannail Boake<sup>5</sup>: one of Cap Gailaps men: Run the gandtelit thrugh 30 men for sleeping upon gard which Cryed Lord god have mercy on me the B[1]ood flying every stroke this was a sorrowfull fight: A[1]so one man was fintanced to Ride the wooden ho[r]se for not turning

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<sup>1</sup> Stillwater on the Hudson, twenty-three miles above Albany and opposite the mouth of the Hoosick.

<sup>2</sup> Saratoga.

<sup>3</sup> “Ketcht,” not chased.

<sup>4</sup> “Scale,” or clean off rust, etc.; an old dialectic word which has escaped all popular dictionaries.

<sup>5</sup> Bogue; a chronic offender, earning and receiving savage punishments.

out so soon as the Rest to train with 4 muskets tied to his feet: But was Repreved

Day 26 Aboute 9 o Clock In the morning we marcht and traveld 7 miles from hear which was half a mile above fort miserry<sup>1</sup> and Refresht our selfs: then we marcht 7 miles & In Camped Jest Below fort Edward<sup>2</sup>

Day 27<sup>th</sup> we Passed over the River and Piched our tents at the norwest Corner of fort Edward

Day 28<sup>th</sup> sume to work highways: sume on gard sume garding te[a]ms to timber

Day 29<sup>th</sup> Sabath sume scouting others garding & Regellateing there tents: the roil amarricans<sup>3</sup> the Blues<sup>4</sup> marcht to fort willaim henerry<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A camp nickname of Fort Miller at the rapids of the upper Hudson, on the west side; its name is still borne by a village there.

<sup>2</sup> On the west side of the Hudson near its great bend, opposite the "Great Carry" (*i. e.*, to Wood Creek, running into Lake Champlain). Originally Fort Lyman, built by Lyman in 1755, before the battle of Lake George; renamed by Johnson to curry favor with George II., after his grandson the Duke of York, brother of the later George III.

<sup>3</sup> A regiment of four battalions raised in America for this war, principally among the Pennsylvania Germans, but with European officers. The famous Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Bouquet commanded one battalion.

<sup>4</sup> The New Jersey regiment raised for this war and commanded by Colonel Parker.

<sup>5</sup> Built by Johnson this year, and named for the Duke of Gloucester, another brother of George III. It was at the head or southern end of Lake George, close to the water and to the present wharf and railroad station at Caldwell or Lake George.

Day 30<sup>th</sup> we By ye Post haveing heared that thare was: an army of fri[n]ch hard By william henerry thare was 70 men sent out to Rang<sup>1</sup>: sume one way & sume a nother: thare was 2 men Convayed to the horspetall: the Dockters Judgeing them to have the small pox

Day 31<sup>th</sup> I was garding sume york Carpenders<sup>2</sup> Captain Putmans Rangers set out for thare scoute.

June the 1<sup>th</sup> Ad 1757 wensday was freed from Duety for a Coock: a party of men<sup>3</sup> was sent up to the Lake to gard teams.

Day 2th we Being a going to worck In the high-way had half a gill of Rum a Lewed us a day haveing the promis of a hwol gill: we marcht one mile & tayrayed that Night

Day 3<sup>th</sup> we sume of us worked hard: But them which was Laszy ware calld to gard us when It was night

<sup>1</sup> These were Putnam's men, enlisted the day before; but they did not perhaps start for a day or two.

<sup>2</sup> Directing a working party in building a fence around the camp garden.

<sup>3</sup> This consisted of thirty men each from Putnam's and another company of Rangers, with their captains and two officers and forty privates of the Connecticut troops. There is a confusion of a day or two about their starting, which is curiously reflected not only in another diarist of the camp, but even in the General Orders; unless the seventy and the one hundred were different parties — but Putnam could hardly have headed both.

Day 4<sup>th</sup> we hassend our Bisnes: finishing Before night: we Returned to the fort: we heard that fore men Being on gard Scattecock shot: killed 1 frinch Indian & wounded a nother: 4 or 5 Run away: the rest of the gard Being asleap:<sup>1</sup>

Day 5<sup>th</sup> which was the Sabath: our Regellars had a Scurmige of fireing plattoons: thare was two of mager rogers<sup>2</sup> men Came hear which got Clear of thare Captivity at Canady & fayed thare would no frinch army Come hear this year they ware so stratend for provison<sup>3</sup> Magor pasons arived hear.

Day 6<sup>th</sup> Captain putman's Rangers with fume of our men to afist his scouting sets of for the narrows<sup>4</sup> one of Captain Galops Indeains was whiped for stealing a gun 60 Laches: we shot at marks<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The usual condition except among the Rangers, and the source of many dreadful disasters.

<sup>2</sup> Rogers, a noted woodsman and border smuggler, was first commissioned by Johnson in the fall of 1755 to command such a company for winter scouting, and again by Shirley the next spring for permanent work; and gradually became the head of a number of semi-independent companies. He evidently had a good eye for ability, as he selected Putnam and Stark for assistants at the outset. Stark as a fellow New Hampshire woodsman he may have known, but Putnam had been only a plain Connecticut farmer.

<sup>3</sup> See the desertions to the English from hunger later on.

<sup>4</sup> There were several familiar places in this region thus called. The one here meant was doubtless that of Wood Creek, near its mouth at Lake Champlain; a favorite place of ambush to command the boat navigation of that useful stream.

<sup>5</sup> As part of the ordered practice, not at will.

Day 7<sup>th</sup> tuesday to giting pine this day one Regeler Died with the Camp Destemper thare was 6 men of the scouts Came Back with a Drunken Indain hwo they Confind:

Day 8<sup>th</sup> sum of our picked gard see whare 12 Indians had Lain a Boute a mile from fort Edward: we heard sume Ranngers from new york: shot 3 frinchmen: of the Senterry About 2 miles Below ye narrows<sup>1</sup>: allso they killed 3 more: and 4 of thare one<sup>2</sup> wounded:

Day 9<sup>th</sup> one man was whiped 40 Laches for fiting Downe on gard: we had a shower of Rain which made us uneasze:

Day 10<sup>th</sup> we had an a Laram 15 men Being sent out a Boute half a mile East of fort Edward to gard abouute as many Cappenders: was ferrounded with 100 frinch & Ind had a shot fore of them Dead [in] swamp: one Buckley & Martin hooker was two of them<sup>3</sup>: 5 more was mising sursposed to be taken Captive: they took a horse: gennarl Limon: with 20 men by them selves went & shot upon them & fritend them so that he got 2 Pikes 2 Dear skins: sevearl scalping knives & Packs Allso thare muster

<sup>1</sup> See note previous page.

<sup>2</sup> Own.

<sup>3</sup> These were of Whittlesey's company; the other two were Rice Edwards and William Mortawamock (probably a Mohegan) of Slapp's company. The latter had his heart torn out.

Role which gave an a Count of thare Being 100 of them & 200 More a Coming & whare they was to scoute: which was Reharsth<sup>1</sup> Both to the Lake & Surratoge with spead.<sup>2</sup>

Day 11<sup>th</sup> sume of the peked gard see 9 Indeains: and thare was a scoute sent After them: but Cuould not find them:

Day 12<sup>th</sup> which was the Sabaths: we sume of us A Lewed to feace from our Labour: mary Rogers was Drumed out of the Camp<sup>3</sup>: & Gorge webster was put under gard for following her Drum magoir.

Day 13 2 Packs & Read a man shot was sursposed to Be taken was found Dead & Scalpt nearer then whare ye other was kild

Day 14 Gennarl Limon with 300 men went out scout<sup>4</sup>

Day 15 Boston forses: 1800 of them Came hear<sup>5</sup>

Day 16<sup>th</sup> thare was one andris whiped 50 Lashes for sleeping on gard: Captain Putnan with his men

<sup>1</sup> Rehearsed.

<sup>2</sup> This skirmish is not reported by any one else.

<sup>3</sup> Shortly after this there was a general medical examination of the camp women, who seem to have been of some number.

<sup>4</sup> "Painted like a Mohog, as many other officers of the scout were," says another diarist. The scouts sometimes scalped the dead like Indians also.

<sup>5</sup> Under Colonel James Frye. The famous Rufus Putnam was one of them.

Brought Into fort Edward a frinch man which told us: fore men & 5 scalps<sup>1</sup> was Carryed to ticonderoge the 12 of June: that they Lost 7 of thare men the 10 of June wen these was Killd & taken: Allso that thare was two Battalyens of Regellar troops at Ticonderoge<sup>2</sup> & a Large army at Crowne Pinte

Day 17<sup>th</sup> one of the man that was taken with the small pox may 30<sup>th</sup> Died with It: he took At Allbanney thinking he had it when he was yonge<sup>3</sup>

Day 18<sup>th</sup> we finishing our work at the tar kill made an oven:

Day the 19<sup>th</sup> which was the Sabbath gennarl Limon with his scout Came In with 1 gun 2 hats & 3 packs which he took from the Enemy: the Indeians killed one Regellar & wounded another a mile Below fort Edward: Boston forses had a farmmon preched By thare minester with few hearers In the forenoon: In the afternoon they shot at marks: the Regellars shot thare great guns At marks & made mery: &c

Day 20<sup>th</sup> thare was one Clark Robberd Knils<sup>4</sup>:

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<sup>1</sup> As only four men were killed, the Indians probably practiced a mild grade of the multiplication noted later. One of the men was David Campbell of Killingly.

<sup>2</sup> Montcalm's grand rendezvous there for the movement against Fort William Henry was effected in July.

<sup>3</sup> *I. e.*, exposed himself recklessly.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Niles, "clark" in Gallup's company.

which came home from scouting without his honnors  
 Leave : Redueced to the Ranks : & whiped 100

200 hampshire folgers 3 Comp<sup>1</sup>

Day 21<sup>th</sup> we had an a Count took of our names :  
 haight & Age werather we had Been In the service  
 before or no &c &c &c & whare we Blonged &c &c  
 &c there was 2 Indeains whipd one a 100 Laches for  
 giting Drunk scouting : the other 50 for selleng Bark  
 when he was bid to get It for a gard house

Day 22<sup>th</sup> one Bosston man Died with Camp Des-  
 temper. I hear of one that Died Before orders to  
 get things clean for genral webs : arivel & no man  
 to go out of gun shot of the fort 4 Regelars whipted  
 40 mohoacks<sup>2</sup> Brought In a frinch man which they  
 took near Crown pint : they had a poywoy<sup>3</sup> of Re-  
 joyceing over him &c he said thare was 200 of his  
 Companions Beetween the forts<sup>4</sup> & as many more  
 Between fort Edward & Surratoage

Day 23<sup>th</sup> Thursday we Comeing jest of from  
 Dewty 100 of our men was Calld away to mend  
 highways Between the forts a Regler was whipd 100

<sup>1</sup> From "No. 4" (Charlestown, N. H.), under Lieutenant-Colonel John Goffe; part of 500 raised this spring by New Hampshire, under Colonel Nathaniel Meserve, and divided by Loudoun.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson's influence kept the Iroquois on the English side in this war.

<sup>3</sup> Powwow. See preface.

<sup>4</sup> Edward and William Henry.

Lashes for hollowing & scaring the Ennemy when  
Gennerel Limon had them partly ambusht

Day 24<sup>th</sup> three men whipt

Coming In from our work Gennarl web arived hear  
more RodIland men Came hear

Day 25<sup>th</sup> one Regellar Died with the small pox.

Day 26 which was the Sabath It Being Ranine  
uncomfortable weather 80 men of us went to gard  
streams<sup>1</sup> to the Lake & took up our Logeing In the  
woods In mesfutes<sup>2</sup> Rigiont: one Boston man whipt  
50<sup>1</sup> for pissing In a kittle of Peas.

Day 27<sup>th</sup> one of our men takeen with small pox  
an Exspress Came from Lake Gorge giveing an a  
Counte that a scout had Been to Crown pint & take-  
ing a vew of things Counld see But few of the Enemy  
thare: Leftanant John Coun<sup>3</sup> & Cap Baker was taken  
By Indeins from Crown pint near scattecook:

Day 28<sup>th</sup> Came 13 frinchmen & Rezined them  
selves up: saying they had [nothing] to eat for 7 or  
8 Days: Allso that thare a Lewance had Been one  
Pound Pork 11 Days. Six men taken small pox:  
we picth our tents the out Side of the pickets so that  
500 Green Regelars & 500 Roil amerrycans<sup>4</sup> the  
Blewms might go with In them

<sup>1</sup> A slip for “teams.”

<sup>2</sup> Massachusetts.

<sup>3</sup> Cone, of Welles’ company.

<sup>4</sup> Both arrived this day. The “Green Regulars” were John-  
son’s New-Yorkers.

Day 29<sup>th</sup> we moved our tents haveing the Pleash-  
ewer of airing them & our selves: a scouting Party of  
200 men set out to go to the East Beay:<sup>1</sup>

Day 30<sup>th</sup> one Regelar died:

July the 1<sup>th</sup> day was friday Captain putmans  
came home & told us he surround 300 frinch & In-  
deians 3 mile above y<sup>e</sup> south beay<sup>2</sup> & fired at them  
11 oclock<sup>3</sup> & fit till 4 In the morning & one of  
his men was killed By our men<sup>4</sup>: genral Limon with  
300 men: went out scouting one compeney Ran-  
gers<sup>5</sup> sent home one man killd<sup>6</sup> & 2 taken<sup>7</sup> 30

<sup>1</sup> Of Lake Champlain: the easternmost of the two prongs into  
which the long narrow southern portion divides in its extreme south-  
ern part, and into which Wood Creek empties, with Whitehall now  
at its mouth.

<sup>2</sup> The western of the two prongs; he means three miles above  
its head or southern end. The ambush was in fact on East Bay,  
at a ledge half a mile above the head. The hostile party were  
some five hundred, mainly Indians, under the celebrated French  
Canadian partisan Marin; and were dreadfully cut up by Put-  
nam's band. They murdered one of Putnam's wounded, and  
carried off two others.

<sup>3</sup> P. M.

<sup>4</sup> Elijah Sweetland of Hebron, of Welles' company. Another  
party of scouts mistook Putnam's men for foes and fired into  
them; and Putnam told them they ought to be hanged for not  
killing more with so fair a shot.

<sup>5</sup> Putnam's.

<sup>6</sup> Henry Shuntup of Welles' company; probably a Mohegan.  
His heart was cut out and a block of wood put in its place; this  
eems to have been reserved for Indian enemies.

<sup>7</sup> Jabez Jones of Fitch's company, John Kennedy of Slapp's.

mohoaks came In with 2 scalps from near Crown Pinte

Day 2<sup>th</sup> six man taken with small pox: 2 men whipt for Being Drunk

Day 3<sup>th</sup> which was sabath It Raind But no scaesa-  
tion of work But a day to Pay them for thare  
Labour: 4 frinch men Came hear from Crown Pint  
& Rezined them selves up<sup>1</sup>

Day 4<sup>th</sup> galard list Ranger<sup>2</sup> 2 men Died with  
Camp Destemper<sup>3</sup> 1 Limons man the oth other of  
Bosston forses: the number of men that have y<sup>e</sup> small  
pox<sup>4</sup> In y<sup>e</sup> horspetell about 50 Rod from the fort  
Is 101:

Day 5<sup>th</sup> 18 men Listed to fired great guns a  
Raine day peperd with frech meat for Eating.<sup>5</sup>

Day 6<sup>th</sup> out of Boston forsis one Smith Died  
with the Camp Destemper the Camp Driners<sup>6</sup> from

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<sup>1</sup> From hunger: this occurred repeatedly.

<sup>2</sup> *I. e.*, Charles Gaylord of Payson's company enlisted in the  
Rangers.

<sup>3</sup> This seems not to mean any one disease, but pneumonia  
("Long feaver"), dysentery, and other non-contagious ailments.

<sup>4</sup> This epidemic heavily crippled the efficient force of the  
troops for two or three years, and drove some bodies of them home.

<sup>5</sup> Probably from Albany: this grateful event was an important  
item to all. "We took our allowance partly in fresh provision,"  
says another.

<sup>6</sup> Very plain, but of course meaning "Drivers."

Allbany Arived hear with thares new Recruts one ofesor taken with the small pox

Day 7<sup>th</sup> Johnathan Tilor John Willson: Charls Galard Left our tent for Rangers<sup>1</sup> thare Compenney was Sursposed to Be verry good But thare Room much Better

Day 8<sup>th</sup> one man wipt 100 Lashes

Day 9<sup>th</sup> one man whipt

Day 10<sup>th</sup> which was the sabath 18 of Cap Rogers men killed & taken near Crown pint<sup>2</sup> one frinch prisner<sup>3</sup>

Day 11<sup>th</sup> one of genral Limons men Died with the Camp Destemper Being Able to woak a Bout yersterday Johnnathen Rementon of Suffeld Limons Compenney :

Day 12<sup>th</sup> Dainal Boke & John Ashley<sup>4</sup> whipt again

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<sup>1</sup> Tyler, Wilson, and Gaylord were all of Payson's company. Six companies of Rangers had been organized on the 5th: headed by Captains Putnam and Safford of Connecticut, West and Learned of Massachusetts, Wall of Rhode Island, and McGinniss of New York.

<sup>2</sup> This affair cannot be further identified. Rogers makes no allusion to it.

<sup>3</sup> Brought in by the Indians of Stockbridge, Mass., where Jonathan Edwards then was.

<sup>4</sup> Bogue had been in the guard-house for three days, and now received fifty lashes, after his frightful experience seven weeks before. "Old Ashley" received fifteen.

Day 13<sup>th</sup>: 6 great guns was fired of 6 times a peace

Day 14<sup>th</sup> thursday one man Died with the Camp Disstemper

Day 15<sup>th</sup> one man Died the Bloody flux: another y<sup>e</sup> small pox: 4 men whiped one of them 200 Lashes In the morning & 200 at night thare was one man of the Bosston forses Runing with one of his mates<sup>1</sup> fell Down Dead Emeadeately

Day 16<sup>th</sup> our tent mates had thair tents took from us & we put Into other tents

Day 17<sup>th</sup> which was the sabath one Drumer whipt for playing Cards<sup>2</sup> 200 of the Rangers set out for a 12 Days scout In order to go to the vance gard which the frinch set out Below the narrows<sup>3</sup>

Day 18<sup>th</sup> a number Bosston men went to mending high ways Down to still waters

[? Day 19<sup>th</sup>] one man & one woman Died

Day 20<sup>th</sup> Levi Strong & John Rogers Conveyd to the hors: petell sick

Day 21<sup>th</sup> one man<sup>4</sup> shot to Death for Defarting to the frinch a scoute of 40 men Came In & gave:

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<sup>1</sup> Playing ball.

<sup>2</sup> Probably for card-sharping, as there was great license in gaming.

<sup>3</sup> Of Wood Creek as before.

<sup>4</sup> A Dutchman named Peck.

an a Counte that sume Indeins fired upon them & killed Leftenant Donet<sup>1</sup> & others<sup>2</sup> the main of them Left thare packs and Run home from s[o]uth Bay oxford<sup>3</sup> was whipt Ninety Lashes for felling Rume<sup>4</sup> & telling fortins to the Regelers Ceucip<sup>5</sup> Indean Died with pox

Day 22<sup>th</sup> Joseph Spencer & 6 more of our Com-penny set out for the still waters<sup>6</sup> one John Tom-mus a RodIlander aboute 9 oClock In the morning for Passing silver mony<sup>7</sup> wic平 he made himself was whipt 300 Lashes.

Day 23<sup>th</sup> Aboute 9 oClock In the morning a Considerable number of frinch & Indeains surronded our Capenders with thare Covering party & they had a hot In gagement: for half an ouer aboute half

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<sup>1</sup> Of Massachusetts; probably Domett or Donnell. The Massachusetts rolls of this war are not published.

<sup>2</sup> Another account says the lieutenant only was killed, and the rest all ran away as here told.

<sup>3</sup> A negro from East Haddam, in Welles' company.

<sup>4</sup> Sergeant Joseph Comstock and Drummer John Chappell of Fitch's company were punished with him for the same offense, the former being reduced to the ranks.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Cujep or Chuchip, a Pequot from Groton. There were several generations of this name.

<sup>6</sup> Part of a large detachment to relieve the forces there and at Saratoga.

<sup>7</sup> Spanish dollars.

a mile East of the fort 11 men was killed<sup>1</sup> which was Brough In & Buryed 6 men was sum of them Badly wound: & Seaverral more missing<sup>2</sup> Picpen<sup>3</sup> one of these wounded men of putmans Died at fun fet: the Regelers from Surratoage Came hear 10 men Carryed to the horspetill with ye small pox

Day 24<sup>th</sup> which was y<sup>e</sup> Sabbath one more of these wound men<sup>4</sup> Died: one Captain hardin Died with y<sup>e</sup> small pox.

Day 25<sup>th</sup> Genaral web was aided up to Lake Gorge with 1000<sup>5</sup> men to wate upon his honnor Levi Strong one of our Compeney wich Belonged to Boston Died with ye Long<sup>6</sup> fever: one man haveing the small pox was Carryed to the horspetill: Aboute 100 Regellars a Rived hear from still warters Jeams Tuler<sup>7</sup> of Simsbeary Corl Limons Compeny Died

<sup>1</sup> And another mortally wounded. The Indians divided the eleven scalps they carried so as to claim pay for thirty-two! The assailing party was 150 Indians and a few Canadians.

<sup>2</sup> Only one was carried prisoner by the Indians; the others scattered in the woods.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Pitkin; the roll of these wounded men is lost.

<sup>4</sup> Amos Bibben of Slapp's company.

<sup>5</sup> Other accounts say the escort was Putnam and 200 Rangers. The diarist may have exaggerated, as he elsewhere does with the Royal Americans; but Webb's conduct makes us suspect that he took as large an escort as possible.

<sup>6</sup> Lung: pneumonia.

<sup>7</sup> Tuller.

with the Long feaver: Likewise one more of our foreces

Day 26<sup>th</sup> one man was killed By another mans gun which went of when: he was a scouring of It<sup>1</sup> one man taken with y<sup>e</sup> small pox we hear that a scouting party of 350 men<sup>2</sup> went out from Lake George to y<sup>e</sup> weast Bay<sup>3</sup> & was sur Round with a number of frinch & Indeins which killed and took 250 of them 100 Elceaped them

Day 27<sup>th</sup> Johnnathen Roberds coparl & Jonnathan Word & Hezekiah Deman<sup>4</sup> was taken to y<sup>e</sup> hors-petill: sick: one man Died thare with the Long feaver: one 100 & od of Cunnectecut & Bosston men Set out to Releave sum Regelars at half moon<sup>5</sup> 3 of [his] our Compeney went thare

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<sup>1</sup> In another tent.

<sup>2</sup> As another diarist of the regiment says the same, Parkman's 300 is probably wrong. They were chiefly Jerseymen sent from Fort William Henry by Parker, and were ambushed at the Lake George narrows by a superior body of Indians under the French Canadian Corbière. The Indians shot some, speared others in the water, and ate three on the spot; but carried most of them captive.

<sup>3</sup> Of Lake George, west of the peninsula in the southern half; also called Northwest Bay. But in fact they were some miles further north, near Sabbath Day Point.

<sup>4</sup> Deming. These were all from Payson's company.

<sup>5</sup> The peninsula at the junction of the Hudson and Mohawk, afterwards Schuyler's camp in the Revolution.

Day 28<sup>th</sup> one man Died & one taken with the small pox: & 5 Regelars whiped<sup>1</sup>

Day 29<sup>th</sup> all the Capenders & Battwo<sup>2</sup> men In y<sup>e</sup> camp set out to work at Lake Gorge: gennaral web Returnd Back to fort Edward: <sup>3</sup> one Regelerr Died: one man taken with the small pox one Hezekiah Deman died sudenly with y<sup>e</sup> Camp Disitemper:

Day 30<sup>th</sup> one man Died with y<sup>e</sup> Long feaver

Day 31<sup>th</sup> which was y<sup>e</sup> Sabath: one man Died Dockter Lord<sup>4</sup> got in Readeness to go houm

Awgust y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>th</sup> Ad 1757 one man Died & one taken with y<sup>e</sup> small pox

Day 2 Dockter Lord went houme for more things the Boston foresses and 500 Roil amearicans<sup>5</sup> marcht up to fort willaim henorry

Day 3<sup>th</sup> the greate guns Begun to fire at 4 a Clock In the morning at Lake gorge and keep going at times and turns: thare was spies sent up thare

Day 4<sup>th</sup> these spies<sup>6</sup> Brough In a frinch man

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<sup>1</sup> One a second time, for losing his blanket and contumaciously asserting that he had received none.

<sup>2</sup> Bateau.

<sup>3</sup> Under the same escort.

<sup>4</sup> Elisha Lord of Farmington.

<sup>5</sup> Only 100 in fact, with Captain Crookshank's independent company and 823 of Frye's Massachusetts regiment, all under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Young of the 60th.

<sup>6</sup> James Collier, of Gallup's company. He deserted ten days later.

hwo they took near Lake gorge: which was killing an ox hwo said that y<sup>e</sup> army which ware segeing Lake gorge was 11000<sup>1</sup> they had 32 Cannon & 12 morter peases

Day 5<sup>th</sup> we heared fort william haner was sur-round with frinch & Indeains 2 Cap putmans Ran-gers went up & Got Into y<sup>e</sup> fort

Day 6<sup>th</sup> 2 men got away from thare which gave us an a Counte that y<sup>e</sup> frinch was Digeing trinches for thare safte<sup>3</sup>: But had not fired any cannon at y<sup>e</sup> fort: 3 men Died with sickness

Day 7<sup>th</sup> which was y<sup>e</sup> sabath gennarl gonson<sup>3</sup> ariveed hear with 1500 men: an Express came from y<sup>e</sup> Lake which said they were In good sperits thare haveing Lost But 5 men allfso that they [keap] could keap them of with thare Bums sevearl Days<sup>4</sup>: that they would not have gennarl web send them any healp while<sup>5</sup> he Could Cume with a party strong

---

<sup>1</sup> He said there were 6000 regulars and 5000 Canadians. There were in fact about 8000 in all, of whom some 2000 were Indians.

<sup>2</sup> Safety.

<sup>3</sup> Now Sir William. Other accounts say he arrived the day before.

<sup>4</sup> Monro is reported by Jabez Fitch, Jr., one of the "Bosston forces" here, as saying that he was "as well pleased as if he was in his own country among y<sup>e</sup> pertaters"; but that was because he expected speedy relief from Webb.

<sup>5</sup> Until.

a nought to Drive of so great an army of frinch<sup>1</sup>

Day 8<sup>th</sup> mon the great guns keep fireing very fast at fort william henerry one Johnnathen worden of Simsbery one of our Compeney Died with y<sup>e</sup> Bloody flux

Day 9<sup>th</sup> fort willaim henerry was Refined upon these Condishons our men what was Left of them was to sease Lif[t]ing up arms against y<sup>e</sup> frinch for 18 months they<sup>2</sup> Brock their artecles & took away thare<sup>3</sup> Packs & Colors & a great many of thare guns & the Indeans killed more of our men when ye frinch was garding them Dwown to fort Edward then in y<sup>e</sup> fight<sup>4</sup>

Day 10<sup>th</sup> our sick set out for allboney ye Remainder of y<sup>e</sup> Command of fort willaim henerry Come Down Being Striped of thare Coleres wounded & Lame

Day 11<sup>th</sup> one nethanel Rogers of our Compenny Dyed with y<sup>e</sup> Bloodey flux more of these prisoners

---

<sup>1</sup> This was probably camp gossip, as Monro's existent letters to Webb contain nothing of the kind; but it would have been good sense, as any less reinforcement simply swelled the number to be sacrificed. Webb had already done exactly that, his "relief" forming part of those surrendered and partly massacred.

<sup>2</sup> The French.

<sup>3</sup> The prisoners'.

<sup>4</sup> A very mild statement.

Came scatering In<sup>1</sup>: sume Connecttecut men from y<sup>e</sup>  
uper towns Came hear

Day 12<sup>th</sup> one Clark Steal Died with small pox  
haford<sup>2</sup> troops came hear

Day 13<sup>th</sup> one man Died

Day 14<sup>th</sup> which was y<sup>e</sup> Sabath two frinchmen  
Came In hear & one frinch ofesser with y<sup>e</sup> flags  
truce y<sup>e</sup> time of y<sup>e</sup> Sun Cleps<sup>3</sup>

Day 15<sup>th</sup> one John fouster was whipt 150 Lashes  
our men Brought one Cannan from y<sup>e</sup> Lake & 400  
men came from Lake Camplain which the french  
[held?] for thare safty: while<sup>4</sup> they Could Cary  
away y<sup>e</sup> spoil which they took thare

---

<sup>1</sup> A signal gun was fired once in two hours to guide those es-  
caped from the massacre wandering in the woods.

<sup>2</sup> Hartford.

<sup>3</sup> That is, late in the afternoon; "This night about gun firing," says Fitch. This eclipse was an annular one of great interest, but the afternoon was "So clouded that we Could Scaircely Perseve It." Nathaniel Ames' Almanack (Boston) for 1757 has the following prediction: "Of the Sun, *August* 14th, visible, and the most remarkable Eclipse seen by us this Age; and the Curious are desired to be careful in the Observation of it; the Semidiameter of the Moon being less than that of the Sun, it cannot be total but will be Annular, *i. e.*, it will appear like a Gold-Ring." It was to begin 4.50 p.m.; begin to be annular 5.55.15; cease to be annular 5.58; cease altogether 7.02. Sunset was 6.55, seven minutes earlier.

<sup>4</sup> Until: the diarist's regular use.

Day 16<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> maleshe killed two Bars

Day 17<sup>th</sup> the meleshe<sup>1</sup> set out for home 150 of our forses went Downe to surratoge<sup>2</sup>

Day 18<sup>th</sup> one Drumer whipt

Day 19<sup>th</sup> a number of y<sup>e</sup> Rangers Came over y<sup>e</sup> River to help Ease our Duety

Day 20<sup>th</sup> 4 men whipt

Day 21<sup>th</sup> which was the sabath a number of men went to Surratoge one Leftennant Cone<sup>3</sup> which was taken By Indeains the East side of the River at Scattecook the 27<sup>th</sup> Day of Last June and a nother man: makeing thare Escape from moriall<sup>4</sup> In Cannaday: Came In hear and Said that a most all Cannaday that ware able to go to war came Down at the takeing of fort william henery

Day 22<sup>th</sup> two Regelars Died our a Lewance of Rume falling from one gill to a Quarter of the same feased

Day 23<sup>th</sup> I heared that Dockter Lord was sick with the small pox at Allbany

<sup>1</sup> Connecticut militia; by orders.

<sup>2</sup> Of the number of militia that poured in just in time not to save Fort William Henry, many returned at once on hearing the news; some remained a short time in great hardship, without tents, blankets, or cooking utensils, then went home despite their officers, whom the "Yorkers" threatened to shoot if restrained.

<sup>3</sup> John Cone of Welles' company.

<sup>4</sup> Montreal.

Day 24<sup>th</sup> fore men Came from Cannaday one of them was Cap Erlehighs<sup>1</sup> our Agetents waiter Last year his name Is vain

Day 25<sup>th</sup> 2 men whipt one for Drowing Rum out of the stores ye other: sleeping on gard<sup>2</sup>

Day 26<sup>th</sup> 2 of Captain Putmans men Brought In a Regellar hwo had Dafarterd from our Campe.

Day 27<sup>th</sup> 4 of Captain Putmans men Came In 2 of them was sick they set out y<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>th</sup> Day of august they went with In 10 or 11 miles of Tyconderoga & see no sines of [Indeans] frinch or Indeians: 4 Yorke Defarters Brought from Albany

Day 28<sup>th</sup> one man Died one woolcut<sup>3</sup> of our Companey was taken with y<sup>e</sup> small pox

Day 29 gennarl Limon with a partey of men went out & killed 7 or 8 Dear & one Bare Efarram flent Died<sup>4</sup>

Day 30<sup>th</sup> one frinchman Came In: Captain putman with his Scout Came In: not haveing seen any syne of y<sup>e</sup> Enemy: one man whipt

<sup>1</sup> Timothy Hierlihy of Middletown; entered as clerk to the adjutant in 1755, became captain and adjutant, and served through the war.

<sup>2</sup> These were Peter Davis and Robert Jaquish of Gallup's company. Samuel Chapman of Welles' was included.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Wilcutt; died Sept. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Or Aug. 3, as on the rolls.

Day 31<sup>th</sup> two Regellars was whipted 75 Lashes  
for whareing a Durty shirt on gard

September y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>th</sup> thursday Day 1<sup>th</sup> Ad 1757 2  
presenars Came In from Cannady the Regelars ware  
whipt again<sup>1</sup> Dockter Lords goods came

Day 2<sup>th</sup> new Beden<sup>2</sup> Came from albany and  
many pots & kitells

Day 3<sup>th</sup> our a Lewance half a gill Came again

Day 4<sup>th</sup> which was y<sup>e</sup> Sabath Came In 6 frinch  
Deserters one of them sursposed to Be a Jew one  
Bosston man<sup>3</sup> In a fit fell Down & Died sudenly.

Day 5<sup>th</sup> two Regelars<sup>4</sup> ware shot to Death for  
deserting to the frinch one of Colonial Limons men  
was whipt 500 Lashes for Listing Into the york  
forses<sup>5</sup>

Day 6<sup>th</sup> a Comemand of 200 men went Downe  
Surratoge to: to relieve those which ware thare:

Day 7<sup>th</sup> one of the yorkers was whipt 500 Lash  
& Drumed out of the Camp with a Rope: abute  
his neck: one Regelar 500 Lashes for muteny

Day 8<sup>th</sup> thursday twelve men<sup>6</sup> Came from num-

<sup>1</sup> Not explainable.

<sup>2</sup> Bedding.

<sup>3</sup> —— Wicks.

<sup>4</sup> Corporal Dorman (Catholic) and Rice Llewellyn, of un-  
known localities.

<sup>5</sup> This was counted desertion. See Preface.

<sup>6</sup> Under Ensign Butler.

ber fore<sup>1</sup> and told us that Coronal whiten with his 500 men<sup>2</sup> ware a Comeing to fort Edward allso that they had not Lost one man with sickness 3 had Been killed

Day 9<sup>th</sup> we had orders that [no] man went out of the Lines at Suratoge upon any a Conte what so Ever with out Leave of the Comemanding offescer:

Day 10<sup>th</sup> two men whipt one 300 Lashes for Disarting: one 200 for going with out the Lins to fhiching.

Day 11<sup>th</sup> which was the sabath hear was many sorts of gameing as well as cursing & Swareing.

Day 12<sup>th</sup> more of the Sick went Downe to All-banney

Day 13<sup>th</sup> one yorker whipt 300 Lashes for geting Drunke a Regelar for ye same 100

Day 14<sup>th</sup> two men shot to Death at fort Edward

Day 15<sup>th</sup> a party of men Came hear Bound for Still waters 25 of them went to Scaticook to make hay

Day 16<sup>th</sup> two thousand Regelars<sup>3</sup> Came hear for Fort Edward Bound.

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<sup>1</sup> Fort No. 4, on the Connecticut, at Charlestown, N. H.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Nathan Whiting, lieutenant-colonel of Lyman's regiment, had been ordered with 500 men to No. 4, to replace Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe and his 200 previously mentioned, ordered by Loudon to Fort William Henry.

<sup>3</sup> Forbes' and Blakeney's regiments.

Day 17<sup>th</sup>: 500 high Landers<sup>1</sup> was hear for our Releaf

Day 18<sup>th</sup> which was the fabath we marcht up to fort Edward:

Day 19<sup>th</sup> mr Pomerry went home<sup>2</sup>: fore men whipt Crueley one Drumed out of the Camps with a Rope abouete his neck<sup>3</sup>

Day 20<sup>th</sup> one Bare & one Dear was killed By hunters

Day 21<sup>th</sup> Dockter Joseph Bouth<sup>4</sup> Died. Cap Rogers with his Rangers Came hear

Day 22<sup>th</sup> 7 Barlels of Rum was Brought for Connecttecut youse

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<sup>1</sup> This was the famous 42d Regiment or Black Watch, formerly employed in keeping the Scotch Highlands in order after 1745. Its major was Duncan Campbell of Inverawe, the hero of one of the most weird and romantic of second-sight legends, with "Ticonderoga" for its basis: told by Parkman in "Montcalm and Wolfe," by Constance Gordon-Cumming in the *Atlantic Monthly* (September 1884), and elsewhere. He was killed in the attack on Ticonderoga in 1758.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy of Hebron, chaplain from Aug. 8 on; but he evidently did not go far, as he preached a week later.

<sup>3</sup> Francis Fleming of Lyman's company. Lyman evidently had a general court-martial to clear his guard-house and settle up arrears. "Old Francis Fleming received the remainder [!] of his punishment 500 lashes;" John Shaw of Fitch's "was whipt 300 lashes for his summer's work"; Samuel Crandall of Gallup's got 250; and "one Wood" of Lyman's (not on the roll) 30.

<sup>4</sup> Of Farmington; a private, probably a local horse-doctor, etc.

Day 23<sup>th</sup> 5 of the Roil americans was whipt

Day 24<sup>th</sup> three frinch men Came In hear

Day 25 which was Sabath y<sup>e</sup> sabath teams Came from Surratoge mr pomerry Preched with us

D 26<sup>th</sup> a Duch wagennner haveing apels to fel fold them for a pany apeace But aboute a dussen of Cap putman's Rangers spelt a bushel & a half and eate them up

Day 27<sup>th</sup> teams Came from Surratoge

Day 28<sup>th</sup> Came In two frinchmen from ticonderoga which told us that thare was 1500 frinchmen at the Lake: Buts a Lie<sup>1</sup>

Day 29<sup>th</sup> we had two Ears of green Corn amongst feaven men Each man a bet about as Long as my thum

Day 30<sup>th</sup> our post Came hear with few Leters october the furst day

Day 1<sup>th</sup> the Rangers killed 2 Dear & one Bare

Day 2<sup>th</sup> which was the sabath one man Died one taken with y<sup>e</sup> small pox the teams Came hear from Surratoge: one frinch man brought In hear from Crown Pint

Day 3<sup>th</sup> a bossten Leftannant<sup>2</sup> had his Sword Brok over his head for Disablieging Langweg: a party of our men went up to y<sup>e</sup> Lake to see what

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<sup>1</sup> It was.

<sup>2</sup> Knowles.

they could find: they took a frinch Defarter & a grate Deel of fase<sup>1</sup>

Day 4<sup>th</sup> 4 men whipt the Regellars Begane to Clear up the hill the wast fide of the Eiland

Day 5<sup>th</sup> one man Died Ashbell moses went to the horspettall: two Bares killed

Day 6<sup>th</sup> teams Came from Suratoge one Regelar Cashed a fitch that wayed 16 pounds & gennaral web gave him a Doller for it:

Day 7<sup>th</sup> three men Came from molbeary<sup>2</sup> to sell Chease

Day 8<sup>th</sup> one man Died

Day 9<sup>th</sup> which was y<sup>e</sup> sabath: those which had the Rumatis & the worst of the sick<sup>3</sup> ware Cayryed Down to Allbanny from hear thare by wather one man Died with small pox: & one with Camp Distemper<sup>4</sup>

Day 10<sup>th</sup> one negro whipt<sup>5</sup> for sleeping on gard: a flag Truce Came Down from y<sup>e</sup> Lake

Day 11<sup>th</sup> a comemand of our men went up to the

---

<sup>1</sup> "Garden sass": green vegetables.

<sup>2</sup> Marlborough.

<sup>3</sup> Five of them.

<sup>4</sup> There was but one — Sergeant Ebenezer Jackson of Fitch's company; he died of the "distemper" in the small-pox hospital, after recovering from the latter disease.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Henry of Fitch's company, 50 lashes.

Lake and Brought Down from the Lake 40 prisoners & one wo[man] we surpose they stoped thare to make shure of a grate Quantety of face which they had not yet got the number of men which ware killed: Captivated and Died with Destempers out of Colonial Phennies Limons Rigement Is 51: & 12 Deserted: 10 men from num 4<sup>1</sup>

Day 12<sup>th</sup> one Ashbel moses a Simsbery man Died with ye Long feaver Being Being the 10<sup>th</sup> man has Died with Destempers out of our Compenney

Day 13<sup>th</sup> the Companny of york Regelars gran-naders: marcht for home Capt putman & 5 oficcers kild 9 Dear & one Bare

Day 14<sup>th</sup> the teams carted wood over the River:

Day 15<sup>th</sup> Comrs<sup>2</sup> went home

Day 16<sup>th</sup> which was the sabath we had a hard Storm of Rain: one Dear killed

Day 17<sup>th</sup> magors Rogers Sent out a scouteing party with 7 of Capt putmans men for an eaight Days scout

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<sup>1</sup> Arrived, not deserted. It was another party under Butler.

<sup>2</sup> In 1755, commissioners from the colonies which furnished troops to the war had met at Albany, to direct the movements, appoint regimental officers, assign drafts, etc. As there is no record of their appointment by the Assembly (of Connecticut at least), they were probably appointed by the governor and council; and we may presume from this entry that the same thing was done this year. No other published document speaks of them.

Day 18<sup>th</sup> John gafit<sup>1</sup> was whipt: 100 Lashes: for the Confeatatsy<sup>2</sup> of Stealing a gun

Day 19<sup>th</sup> a grate number of the sick Regelars with the teams we heard that we should march for home the 27<sup>th</sup> Day of october Instant &ccc

Day 20<sup>th</sup> two Roil amearacans<sup>3</sup> was hanged fo[r] Desearshon:<sup>4</sup> 3 more Reseved a tousand Lashes & Drumed out of the Camps Asel Andderis<sup>5</sup> taken to hospetill

Day 21<sup>th</sup> Conolan Liman with his subottons<sup>6</sup> and aboute 500 men marcht up to Lake Scockerromah<sup>7</sup> to take a vew of the Reue[n]gs of the fort<sup>8</sup> one man Died:

Day 22<sup>th</sup> Colonan Limon with his men Came home one man Died

Day 23<sup>th</sup> which was y<sup>e</sup> Sabbath two yorkers Be-  
ing sent to Look up some sheelp one of them was

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<sup>1</sup> Japhet, of Lyman's company: Indian or negro.

<sup>2</sup> Qy. confederacy == collusion?

<sup>3</sup> John Rhodes and Andrew Westerman.

<sup>4</sup> Another account says for stealing.

<sup>5</sup> Asahel Andrews, of Payson's company.

<sup>6</sup> Subalterns.

<sup>7</sup> Lake George. Gridley's name is a creditable phonetic effort at spelling the French pronunciation of their term for it, Lac Saint-Sacrement: the last word would sound to him like "Sockr-romah," and his inserted extra "c" makes Scok'erromah.

<sup>8</sup> William Henry.

killed & scalped Jest Below the Brick kills: the other surfposed to Be taken By sume sculking In-deains two Dear was killed

Day 24<sup>th</sup> they found this other man Dead and scalpt

Day 25<sup>th</sup> a considerable nomber which ware week and poor ware sent Down In Carts and wagons one man Died:

Day 26<sup>th</sup> our wood was Cleeand off from the Iland so that we Began to peck upon the Stubs:

Day 27<sup>th</sup> the teams Came from Srratoge: one Dear was killed: one man Died

Day 28<sup>th</sup> gennarl Limons horse had a stable made for him: Eleven teams went Down to Scatecook for heay for him & nothing In it. our teams carted wood By the Brick kills:

Day 29<sup>th</sup> It Began to snew at 9 oclock In the morning sargent abner meachum Died

Day 30<sup>th</sup> which was the sabath fifteen of our Rige-ment set out for home & marcht surrotoge

Day 31<sup>th</sup> we set sail<sup>1</sup> two oclock & went Cap Lamsons

November Day 1<sup>th</sup> from thence we marcht to y<sup>e</sup> half moon

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<sup>1</sup> The rapids at Fort Miller prevented going by barge from Fort Edward.

Day 2<sup>th</sup> from thence we marcht & taryed 6 miles above albany

Day 3<sup>th</sup> from thence we thraviled to Green Bouch: Colonial manrow<sup>1</sup> Died one man was shot to Death three of our sick<sup>2</sup> Died:

Day 4<sup>th</sup> from thence we marcht 12 miles & Lay at the half way house

Day 5<sup>th</sup> we marcht 18 miles and Came Into Canterhook & Lay 2 miles north of the stone house

Day 6<sup>th</sup> which was the Sabath we marcht 12 miles and Lay at nobles town<sup>3</sup>

Day 7<sup>th</sup> from thence we marcht 25 miles & Lay at Captain Coles In Cannan

Day 8<sup>th</sup> from thence we marcht 12 miles & Lay at Landard Joashes In goshon

Day 9<sup>th</sup> from thence we marcht 15 miles & Lay at Landard wiyers<sup>4</sup>

Day 10<sup>th</sup> I got home 2 oclock

In the year 1758 August the 13<sup>th</sup> I Layed at Landard Larranece In canan

<sup>1</sup> Monro, ex-commander of Fort William Henry. He was stricken with apoplexy in the street.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Deming of Lyman's company, Benjamin Hulbert of Payson's, and a third not identifiable.

<sup>3</sup> Northeast of Livingston's Manor.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Wiard's in Harwinton.

The 14<sup>th</sup> Day I passed to the new England ter-  
ven<sup>1</sup> Jest above allbanny Citty

the 15<sup>th</sup> Day I pasd with Dilligente Inquierry to  
Surratoge & waited for a garde

the 16<sup>th</sup> Day I passed to fort Edward

the 17<sup>th</sup> Day I heard of the Lementable of the  
Death of Elisha gridly

Day 19<sup>th</sup> arived at fort miler 12 o Clock from  
thence to scaratoga the news of Cabretones<sup>2</sup> being  
tak[en] a firing

Day 20 which was the Sabath: I treveld to the  
next house above Coronal Scilars 6 miles above  
Albaney Cty

Day 21<sup>th</sup> Came to Landard Saxstons met J Royce  
Below Love Joys<sup>3</sup>

Day 22<sup>th</sup> throm thence I treavild to Mr newels<sup>4</sup>  
In Goshon:

Day 23<sup>th</sup> I got home at night<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Tavern. This or a successor of the same name was existent  
nearly a century later.

<sup>2</sup> Cape Breton's; *i. e.*, Louisbourg.

<sup>3</sup> Lovejoy's Tavern, in Albany.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. Abel Newell.

<sup>5</sup> This was about 140 miles in three days, over bad roads,  
largely across mountainous country and through the woods; a severe  
though not impossible journey.

## An a Count of the men of each Government

Bosstone	8-0-0
Connectecut	0-9-0-0
the Blews govt Jerszy	1-5-0-0
hampfhir	0-2-5-0
RodIland	0-4-5-0
Regelars	2-0-0-0-0
Yorkers	0-2-0-0-0

## [Elafas fma pox]

Clarck Steal	1
Johnnathan word	2
Elasesander wolcut	3

## Small pox

John Keperoge	4
Levi Strong	5
Nethannal Rogers	6
Hezekiah Demman	7
Efraam Hunt	8
Esara Rodden	9
Ashbel moses	10
John willson	pox 11
Sarjant abner mecham	12

Hafford :<sup>1</sup> April 23<sup>th</sup> Ad 1757

Farmington :

<sup>1</sup> Hartford.

**Harrington** : <sup>1</sup>

**Lichfeald** :

**Goshen** :

**Cornwill** :

**Canan**

**Solsbearly** :

**oblongs** : <sup>2</sup>

**Ancrom** :

**Clavrick** : 29 of April :

**Canterhook** : 11 D of may wensday

**Greenbuch** 22

**Scatacoock** we marcht from hear

**Still warters**

**Suratoke**

**fort Edward**

Its 54 mils out of Connecticut from thare Its 32 to **Claverick** tis 70 miles from thare to **Scattecock** & tis 37 miles from thare to **fort Edward**

And tis: 193 miles from **farmington** to **fort Edward**: 193.

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<sup>1</sup> Harwinton.

<sup>2</sup> The Oblong or Equivalent Tract was the strip  $1\frac{3}{4}$  miles and 20 rods wide, parallel to the Hudson along the entire western boundary of Connecticut, from Rye, N. Y., upward. It was ceded to New York by Connecticut in 1683, in return for the towns of Greenwich, Stamford, Darien, New Canaan, Norwalk, and part of Wilton.

Sarratoge September y<sup>e</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> day A.D. 1757 I  
Received one vommit and one pil to take at Bed  
time :



OCT 21 1977







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